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ABSTRACT

Utilizing data derived from two surveys (1967 and 1970) of the rural population of Novosibirsk province in the USSR, the migration plans and orientations of rural dwellers were compared with actual migration behavior to test the hypothesis that it is possible to predict migration patterns via orientation data. Three types of migration orientations were identified (highly immobile, indifferent, and highly motivated). The data were analyzed in terms of: reappraisals; personal and domestic motives; difficulties; advocated favorable rural conditions; occupational factors; financial considerations; unfavorable urban conditions; etc. Results indicated: potential migration could be used to predict actual rural to urban migration, since 64% of the sample were persons who had been, were, or would become rural to urban migrants; the decision to migrate sometimes disappeared altogether due to certain objective and subjective factors; actual, though not always recognized, attachment to the rural way of life was a strong factor influencing migration decisions (34% gave up their intentions to migrate); 41% of the most likely migrants had migrated; 92.2% of the migrants were satisfied with their new life; and 87.8% of the migrants did not want to return to rural places. (JC)

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L.V. Korel

TOWARD THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POTENTIAL AND ACTUAL RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

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TOWARD THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POTENTIAL AND ACTUAL RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

(K VOPROSU O SVIAZI MEZHDU POTENTSIALNOI I REALNOI MIGRATSIEI SELSKIKH ZHITELEI V GORODA)

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Abstract

The paper examines the results of empirically testing a hypothesis about a possibility to prognosticate actual rural-urban migration relying on data on the orientation (rural or urban) of rural dwellers, on their migrational plans. The main conclusion is that propensity to move may be viewed as ground for actual movement though the relationship between these processes is more complicated than that.

Planning and forecasting of rural people's migration can be done not only on the basis of the knowledge of objective conditions of individuals but also of such personality structure components as behavioural motives, goals, needs, attitudes and orientations since the social action of an individual is determined by the external world indirectly, through personality structure.

In objective reality individuals' interests, needs and attitudes are manifested in their evaluations of public events and in actual behaviour. According to this, the main efforts of sociologists are directed, first, on studying attitudes and plans, personal evaluations by individuals of social processes and events. This point was especially emphasized by V.I. Lenin who pointed out to the necessity to know exactly "on any problem, at any moment, the public sentiments, public actual needs, aspirations, images, to be able to know without any false exaggeration the actual degree of its political conscious-

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ness" (Lenin, v. 44:348). Second, it is necessary to study the actual behaviour of an individual, as "action is the most plain and clear revelation of a man, of his sentiments and goals" (Hegel, v XV:223).

As the behavioural action as such does not contain its motives (that core which is the specifics of conscious activity) and the mechanism of a particular type of selective behaviour is not seen, this evidence cannot help predict what will be the behaviour of a totality of people under different social conditions. This involves a task to discern between actual behaviour and public consciousness and to find out their relationship.

With reference to any specific section of social reality this task is a partial but necessary step in finding the most precise and effective methods for predicting social processes.

In this paper an attempt is made to find out the relationship between propensity to migration reported in evaluations of urban and rural life styles and in specific migrational plans, on the one hand, and actual migrational behaviour (actual migration), on the other. The study was based on the empirical data obtained in two sampling questionnaire surveys of the rural population of the Novosibirsk province conducted at the Sector for Rural and Urban Social Problems (Institute of Economics and Industrial Engineering) in 1967 and 1970. The first survey was aimed to detect migrational plans and orientations of rural dwellers; the second at studying their actual migrational behaviour.

1. The Selection of Object of Investigation

The decision about cityward migration is taken by rural dwellers under high influence of their general attitude toward urban and rural way of life, their dominant orientation: rural or urban. At the same time, this in no way means that general urban preference should necessarily lead to cityward migration. Among respondents defending

urban life style we could identify three types of attitudes toward migration.

The first relates to highly immobile rural people. Despite their reported urban preference, these people do not migrate which is the evidence either to highly general kind of their urban preference, or to the presence of very strong objective and subjective factors impeding their migration.

The second type relates to rural dwellers indifferent to migration. It is, first, those who have not yet arrived at a definite decision. Second, it is persons who, in principle, advocate migration but do not feel it urgent for themselves.

The third type relates to most mobile rural people, i.e. those who are resolved to move.

Rural dwellers of the second and third types may be divided according to another attribute, which is more or less independent of the firm decision to move. This is the specific character of their migrational plans. In the second and third types of rural dwellers there are individuals who not only scheme their movement but also see actual ways and opportunities for the implementation of their decisions, i.e. have quite specific migrational plans: they already know the year of movement, city, supposed place of learning or work etc. Along with them, in both types there are persons who do not have such plans.

We would expect rural dwellers of the third type who have quite specific migrational plans as most probable migrants. They were chosen by us as the main object of investigation for testing our hypothesis. In this way, using a fairly simple substantive typology, we have identified a group of most probable rural migrants.

2. Test of the Hypothesis

The analysis of the structure of the actual migational flow to cities has shown that the percentage of persons

who in 1967 reported their urban preferences were resolved to move to city and had concrete plans is 37.3%, i.e. slightly above one third of the actual flow. This figure may seem not very high, but it is so. It is enough to remember that the actual flow included, first, people firmly resolved to migrate but without specific plans at the moment of interview in 1967; second, persons who in 1967 were at the stage of decision formation.

It is evident that for three years migrational plans may not only become specific but be also implemented.

In sum, what is the degree of implementation by rural dwellers of their migrational decisions? Or, else, what is the degree of divergence between plans and actual behaviour' And to what extent can this divergence be explained by rectifying effect of social conditions and to what by unsteadiness of migrational plans and orientations themselves, by their actual, though not always recognised adherence to rural way of life?

The answers , in a brief form, are contained in Scheme 1.

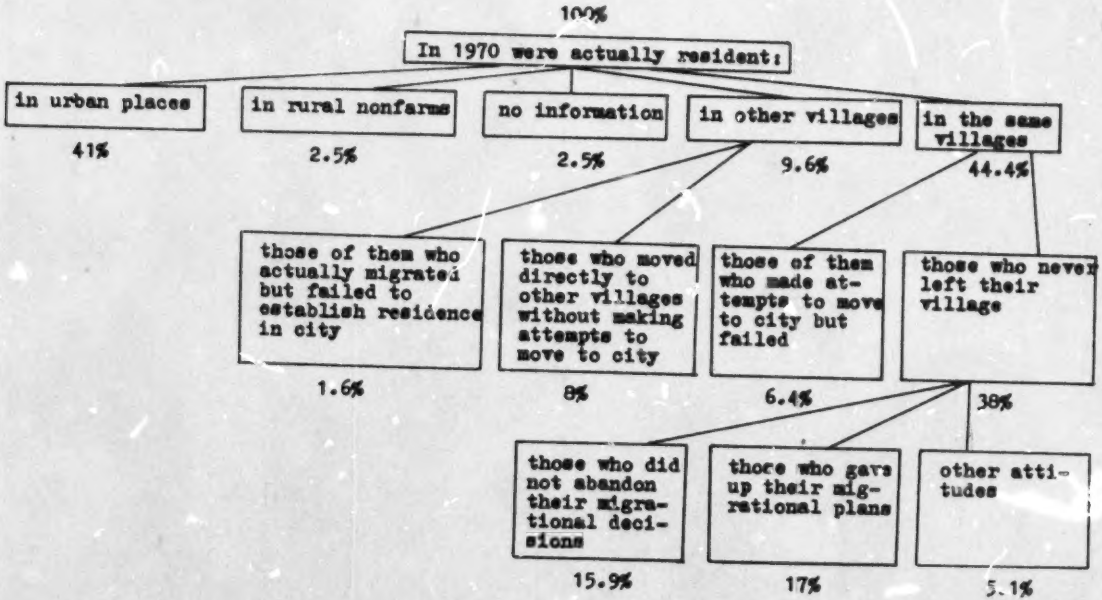
By 1970 about half (41%) of the most likely migrants had implemented their decision and in fact were residing in city. Through a method of indirect interview with relatives and neighbours of these persons we have ascertained that the main bulk (92.2%) of former migrants were satisfied with their new life, 4.6% were not quite satisfied and a negligible minority (3.2%) were definitely dissatisfied with their city life.

87.8% of migrants who lived in city were not going to return to the countryside. We should deduct from their number that category which are to go back to the rural side after completing their training.

Therefore, nearly all former migrants, before the time of interview, had managed to take roots in cities, find jobs, registration and regulate their life.

This category of former potential migrants has exhibited steadiness in city orientation, will and purpose, persever-

PRINCIPAL TYPES OF POTENTIAL MIGRANTS BEHAVIOR



Scheme 1

ance in implementing their plans, ability to adjust to a new environment. On the other hand, external social conditions and circumstances seem to have not posed obstacles to them.

Slightly above half potential migrants (54%) lived as of interview time in rural areas. 82.3% of them (44.4% of all sampled population) lived in the same villages as in 1967. According to this, we can conclude that for cityward persons intrarural movement is rather fortuitous. It accounts for about 8% in the structure of flows of different directions.

The group of potential migrants who lived in the countryside at 1970 interview date is not behaviourally uniform and can be divided into two subgroups. First, those who proved in fact to be steady; they did not make any attempt at leaving. Second, those who made such attempts but failed, or even lived in city for some time and then came back.

Potential migrants who had never left their village

One of the most numerous groups of potential migrants were those who in 1970 lived in the same village and over the preceding 3 years had not made an attempt to move. This group accounted for 38% of the total tested population and 70.4% among those of them who still were rural residents.

By attitude toward their former decision about migration this group falls into several subgroups (Table 1).

37.8% of potential migrants still living in the village (15.9% of the total tested population) had not enough time to implement their decision, but in the years ahead were going to move to city. The substantial percentage of this group shows that time needed for implementation of their decisions is rather long and, at least, more than three year period.

About 3% of this group who in 1967 not only advocated urban life, but had also specific migrational plans, conten-

ded of their never having such intention. This fact may be explained either by interviewer's fault, or by fluctuation of human memory.

Table 1

Potential migrants who never left their village by their reappraisal of the former decision to migrate, %

Reappraisal	Percentage with this attitude
Changed their minds	43.0
Uncertain, more likely will not leave	1.5
Uncertain, more likely will leave	3.3
Had not enough time to implement their decision	37.8
Do not know	0.5
Never had such intention (renunciation from their reply of 1967)	2.8
No information	11.1
Total	100.0

The highest percent (43.0% of the group and 17% of total tested population) is held by persons who gave up their migrational plans. Close to them are those who are still uncertain but more likely will not leave.

In view of studying migrational mechanisms it would be interesting to find out the reasons for which some persons changed their minds. To what extent was it due to external circumstances so that the person still has a propensity to move though delays his plan for the time being? And to what extent have former potential migrants changed into steady rural dwellers on the basis of, perhaps, a sober evaluation of urban life and favourable changes in the rural life?

To answer these questions we had to analyze actual migrational behaviour, since a distinctive trait of a

motive is its duality, dialectic interconnection of external and internal factors. The motive reflects, on the one hand , the inner essence of the personality (its system of attitudes, values, needs, interests) and on the other requirements posed by the environment in the form of the situation the individual finds himself in. By motive is ordinarily meant the subjective attitude of a person toward his action, the realization by him of reasons which caused this action. The analysis of this dual nature of motive may help us answer these questions.

According to the foregoing, what is the structure of motives for giving up the idea to migrate to city? (Table 2).

Table 2

Structure of motives for giving up migrational plans, %

Groups of motives	Percentage of those who mentioned this group of motives
Difficulties to establish residence in city	20.0
Unfavourable urban conditions	13.2
Favourable rural conditions	34.0
Personal and domestic reasons	25.2
No information	7.6
Total	100.0

The examination of these reasons illustrates how actual social opportunities substantially change migrational plans. This is most true of a rather numerous group of rural dwellers justifying their refusal from moving by difficulties to establish residence in a city. As is seen, even on the first stage in implementation of migrational plans, i.e. the period of probing into actual possibilities of settling in a new place, a fairly large group of rural dwellers encounters obstacles forcing them to give up their decisions. The kind of difficulties can be seen from Table 3.

Table 3

Difficulties associated with the settlement in a city, %

Difficulties	Percentage in all motives	Percentage to other difficulties
Getting dwelling	12.3	61.1
Getting registration in a city	5.5	27.7
General difficulty	1.1	5.6
Failure to enter an educational establishment in a city	1.1	5.6
Total	20.0	100.0

The highest percentage was obtained by such motives as "absence of dwelling in the city, difficulties in getting dwelling" (61.1%) and "difficulty in getting registration in the city" (27.7%). Without changing their urban orientation and propensity to migrate this group, under pressure of reality, become steady rural dwellers not planning city-ward migration for the years ahead.

On the other hand, during the past period some part of rural dwellers, after spending their leave of absence in city, with their kins and friends, on business missions, came to a more critical attitude toward urban conditions. And the closer contacts with urban life engendered an opposite attitude. 13% of rural dwellers resident in their villages and having abandoned their migrational plans explained this change by unfavourable conditions in cities. 66.7% of them began to condemn urban life style in general, the remaining 33.3% mentioned specific difficulties, in particular, the lack of places in urban kindergartens and nurseries.

Critical attitudes toward urban life logically entailed attention to favourable rural features. By their percentage

this group of reasons is the most representative and makes 34%. The intimate knowledge of rural life by respondents accounts for the diversity of mentioned favourable rural features against unfavourable urban. This attests to their low urban experience and little knowledge of it.

This group of reasons include of course such universal stabilization factors as favourite work, habit to natural environment and social surroundings ("to the folk"), to this particular residential location. We shall divide them conventionally into three groups: reasons associated with the attractiveness of rural life style, economic situation of the family and working conditions (Table 4).

Table 4

Structure of advocated rural conditions, %

Reported favourable conditions	Percentage in total reasons for giving up migrational plans	Percentage in total indications to favourable rural conditions
The attractiveness of rural way of life	10.9	32.0
Reasons associated with occupational activity	13.2	39.0
Reasons associated with economic status of the family	9.9	29.0
Total	34.0	100.0

Interpreting the table, we can see that the discerned groups of reasons have more or less stabilizing effect. Special attention is drawn, however, to the indication of the attractiveness of rural way of life which shows that some rural dwellers have reevaluated rural life and found that not only particular features of rural life were attractive but all this life as a whole.

In this case the refusal from migration was caused not only by rectifying effect of objective conditions but by personality structure, its needs and interests and fluctuating nature of orientations themselves. This is just the case where our former potential migrant turned a steady rural inhabitant.

The considerable part (39%) of potential migrants explaining their refusal from migration by favourable rural conditions, refer to reasons associated with occupational activity.

We shall examine the structure of these reasons in detail (Table 5).

Table 5

The structure of occupational reasons,

%

Reasons	Percentage in all reasons for refusal from migrational plans	Percentage in all references to favourable rural conditions	Percentage in occupational reasons for advocating rural life
Better working conditions	4.4	13.0	33.3
The attractiveness of work performed	4.4	13.0	33.3
The awareness of social significance of work performed	2.2	6.5	16.7
Other reasons	2.2	6.5	16.7
total	13.2	39.0	100.0

The strongest stabilizing action is exercised by reasons associated with the attractiveness of work performed. Here are some of these replies: "the work here suits me, and what I shall find in city I do not know"; "my work is good, necessary for every one and its results are evident";

"I have made efforts and wish to see the results"; "I simply care for my work".

As is seen, a certain part of potential migrants advocated work as social value. And this orientation proves to be for them more important than orientation at urban life style.

According to sociologists in this country and abroad, unfavourable working conditions are one of the strongest pushes to city. As was shown by our study, better working conditions, in their turn, exercise considerable stabilizing effect. 33.3% of work reasons were references to the improvement in working conditions. This evidences again that improvement in farm working conditions is a necessary part of the system of measures on the retention of labour in the country. 16.7% of occupational reasons are those explaining non-migration to city by social significance of farm work. They were worded in this way: "there must be someone to grow grain", "there is nobody to work here, we need equipment operators". The motives of this type include, besides pride for one's participation in important and necessary activity, one's identification with farm work, unwillingness to shift from it to any other.

Among the reasons associated with favourable rural conditions, a considerable percentage (29.0%) is made by financial considerations (Table 6).

Table 6

Financial considerations contributing to inhabitants' stabilization in the rural side, %

Considerations	Percentage in all reasons for non-migration	Percentage in all references to favourable rural conditions	Percentage in the group of financial considerations in advocating rural life
The possibility of cheaper subsistence due to private economy	2.2	6.5	22.2
Better dwelling conditions	5.5	16.0	55.6

Better economic conditions of the family	2.2	6.5	[illegible].2
Total	9.9	29.0	100.0

The main bulk of reasons (77.8%) are of dynamic nature and directly associated with the changes in living conditions which took place over the past 3 years. This type of reasons attests to the controllability of migrational process in general. Comparatively simple economic measures, such as improved dwelling conditions and work remunerations can exercise stabilizing effect on part of population and make for them cityward migration non-rational.

A large percentage of potential migrants (22.2%) explain their refusal from migration by merely realising economic advantage of staying in the country (those advantages which had existed formerly also). One of such advantages is "the possibility to have a cheaper subsistence in the rural side with the help of private plots".

This group of reasons also illustrates the effect of social conditions.

Along with the found out difficulties to establish residence in city or unfavourable city conditions, as well as the realisation of certain rural advantages, part of rural dwellers who gave up their intention to leave (25.2%) explain it by purely personal motives, in particular, by changed family status, one's own growing up or ageing (Table 7).

Some rural dwellers gave up their decision to migrate without changing the general attitude toward urban life; they considered it too late for them to change their tenor of life ("old age, am going to retire from job", "in old age it is better to have a home of one's own"); others refer to immaturity of their former decision ("was green", "wished to leave because of my young age").

Age motives point out to the instability of migrational

plans, their immaturity rather than the rectifying impact of certain external conditions or re-evaluations of life.

Table 7

The structure of personal and domestic reasons for non-migration to city, %

Motives	Percentage in all motives for non-migration	Percentage in personal and domestic motives
Motives associated with age	8.7	35.0
Health condition	6.6	26.0
Marriage	6.6	26.0
Unwillingness of one of family members to move	2.2	8.7
Family enlargement	1.1	4.5
Total	25.2	100.0

This can be explained also by that situation of which A. France wrote: "The skull of everyone of us covers a lot of contradictory ideas to which we are equally attached and which are getting along together very well because we never call them for confrontation".

Other domestic and personal reasons need no interpretation. It is clear that marriage, illness make one see the matter of migration in a new light, often oppositely.

One should not ignore also such a factor as unwillingness to leave for city of one of family members".

In spite of great spread and stabilising effect of personal and domestic motives, this group of reasons has no deep or visible social roots and cannot help find ways and methods for reducing intensive exodus form the country, should we pose this task.

Our analysis has shown that under different "headings", within seemingly different groups of motives very similar social situations are hidden. The conclusion about favourable

rural conditions is the other side of the conclusion about unfavourable urban conditions, and the latter is hard to distinguish from difficulties to establish residence in a new place. For this reason, we have rearranged motives for non-migration on a new basis.

Under the first group subsumed were all the motives associated with non-migration on the basis of better knowledge of actual urban-rural differences and of the realization of rural advantages. The following reasons were included: "the attractiveness of rural way of life", "the opportunity to have a cheaper subsistence due to private economy", "the attractiveness of work performed" etc. The proportion of this kind of reasons is 37.2%.

The second group was formed of motives associated with changed situations of the respondents. These are "improvement in housing situation and economic status of the family", "marriage", "family increase" etc. They make 28.6%.

The third group were motives of involuntary decision for non-migration on account of existing objective circumstances. This group embraced the motives associated with difficulties to establish residence in a city and part of motives associated with unfavourable urban conditions. The proportion of this kind of motives among all others was 24.4%.

While the first two groups of motives concern situations of equilibrium, the motives of the third type characterize a situation of conflict, disperity between urban orientation of rural people, their migrational plans, on the one hand, and the objective opportunities for the implementation of these plans, on the other.

Potential Migrants Who First Moved to City and Then Returned Back

8% of tested population were persons who , for some reasons or other, returned to the village after having lived for some time in city. At the same time, if we take

all potential migrants resident now in the rural side, the proportion of whose who had urban experience after the 1967 interview is 15.3%. On the basis of these data we can also conclude that most of cityward migrants managed to settle there and only small part of them (17.2%) returned home.

As a rule, people come back to their native village. Only 20% who failed to establish residence in city moved to other villages. Due to this, we had an opportunity to get information from respondents themselves. In other cases we had to ask their neighbours and relatives.

To summarize, what are reasons for their coming back to the village? To what extent is it attributable to subjective drives and to what to the environment and circumstances?

About 9% of those who came back to the village where they lived in 1967 were disappointed in urban way of life. "I like quiet living", "did not like it in city", "am accustomed to the rural place" - such were the replies. Urban preference reported by this category of persons in June, 1967 and implemented later on, was rather abstract and imitative than adequate to the actual needs and goals of these people. We cannot exclude also certain conservatism, the habit to a particular life style, difficulties of adjustment to a quite different setting and conditions. Some part of rural migrants cannot even expose themselves to urban experience for such a time as to be able to appreciate favourable urban features (Table 8).

17% of migrants were forced to come back to the village as a result of having encountered housing, registration and employment difficulties.

About a fourth of those who returned to their village, were persons previously sent by collective or state farm to get training in urban technical and other schools, i.e. who had never been actual migrants.

A small proportion among the returning motives is a group conventionally referred to by us as "children-parent" ties. For young generation who leave the village kin contacts are not broken at all; moreover, they play more of

Table 8

The structure of motives for coming back to that village where they lived in June 1967, %

Motives	Proportion in the group
The attractiveness of rural life style and unattractiveness of urban	8.5
Difficulties to establish residence in city	17.2
Placement after completing education	22.9
Children-parents ties	25.6
The climate did not agree with	11.5
Other personal and domestic reasons (marriage)	8.5
Others	5.7
Total	100.0

a role. It is rather common that young people coming back do so not so much on account of their attachment to rural life as to home, to the family: "longed for parents", "did not want to live away from my mother" , "longed for home". Sometimes the initiative is with parents: "my parents have persuaded me to come back home", "parents ordered to return home".

8.5% of respondents explained their coming back by changes in marital status. The rest of them by state of health and other personal and domestic reasons.

Extremely low part (1.6%) of all tested population go from city to a village other than their native one. To find out their reasons for returning to rural life but outside their native villages we asked about it their neighbours and relatives. The analysis has shown that the obtained structure of motives was very like that obtained through direct interviews but considerably poorer. The

highest proportion was held by such motives as "desire to live with relatives", "unfavourable urban conditions" (22.2%). Part of the flow (11.1%) obtained job placements after completing training in city. The return of others was explained by health condition (11.1%) and changes in marital status. About 22.2% of persons of this category we do not have information.

3. Conclusions and Lines Further Research

The analysis of the relationship between potential and actual rural-urban migration permits us to conceive this process from many aspects, elucidate its new social features, clarify the mechanism and conditions for the implementation of out-migrational plans. The main conclusions are as follows:

Potential migration, as a rule, is separated from the actual by a long span of time, during which due to different objective and subjective factors, this decision may disappear altogether. Nevertheless, it seems to us that potential migration can be used for predicting actual cityward migration, since 64.9% or nearly two thirds of tested population were persons who either had been, or were, or would be cityward migrants (see Scheme 1). This percentage includes former rural dwellers resident at present in cities; those who after being exposed to urban experience returned, on the strength of particular circumstances, to rural life (6.4% + 1.6%); and, finally, those who did not give up their decision to leave but had not managed so far to implement it and are going to do it in the nearest future (15.9%).

We should note that 2.5% of 1967 potential migrants in 1970 resided in rural nonfarms. The previous studies of migration have shown that rural-urban migration more often than not takes place in two or three stages: first to the nearest rural nonfarms and district seats, and then to

cities. It was very likely that in this case we also dealt with such reserve for future population gain by cities.

The examination of motives of disperity ("opening of the scissors") between potential and actual migration has shown that actual, though not always recognized, attachment to rural way of life is one of the strongest factors rectifying the implementation of outfarm migrational plans.

Rural life style has many attractive features and advantages comparing to the urban in the eyes of ruralites. This is supported by the fact that even those rural people who have general urban preferences and, one would think, are resolved to migrate to city, are under strong influence of favourable rural conditions. The latter were referred to by 34% of rural dwellers who had given up their migrational plans. At the same time the now existing conditions and employment opportunities in cities also considerably rectify the implementation of rural people's migrational plans.

Liudmila Vasilyevna Korel

TOWARD THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POTENTIAL AND ACTUAL RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

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